

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 13173 01 OF 03 091956Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-10 ISO-00 BIB-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05  
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01  
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-07 MC-02 ERDA-05 /084 W  
-----036019 092056Z /73

R 091628Z SEP 77  
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1968  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY TAIPE  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
AMCONSUL MUNICH  
USMISSION BERLIN  
USMISSION NATO  
USLO PEKING  
CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 MOSCOW 13173

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: CH,UR, YO, JA, MASS, PARM  
SUBJECT: NEW UPSWING IN SOVIET ANTI-CHINESE POLEMICS COINCIDES  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 13173 01 OF 03 091956Z

WITH VANCE, TITO VISIT AND CCP CONCLAVES

REF: MOSCOW 9681

SUMMARY: THE SOVIET CENTRAL PRESS HAS UNLEASHED A NEW  
ROUND OF ATTACKS ON THE PRC WHICH COINCIDE WITH THE  
CONCLUSION OF THE ELEVENTH PARTY CONGRESS AND THE

SECRETARY'S AND PRESIDENT TITO'S VISIT TO CHINA. THIS NEW HIGH POINT IN ANTI-PRC COMMENTARY (THE FIRST SINCE MAY-JUNE, 1977) AND STATEMENTS BY SOVIET MFA OFFICIALS AND ACADEMICIANS REINFORCE THE CONCLUSION THAT SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS HAVE NOT IMPROVED AS A RESULT OF MAO'S DEPARTURE A YEAR AGO AND ARE NOT LIKELY TO. AN AUTHORITATIVE SEVEN THOUSAND WORD KOMMUNIST ARTICLE, THE CENTERPIECE OF THE PRESENT UPSWING IN ANTI-CHINESE PROPAGANDA, (A) REITERATES SOVIET SENSITIVITIES OVER POSSIBLE WESTERN ATTEMPTS TO USE ARMS AND TECHNOLOGY TRANSFERS TO CHINA AS LEVERAGE AGAINST THE USSR, (B) REFLECTS SOVIET CONCERNS OVER CHINESE EFFORTS IN EASTERN EUROPE AND (C) REVIEWS CHINESE PROGRESS IN NUCLEAR WEAPONRY. THE RITUALISTIC REPLAY OF BREZHNEV'S STATEMENTS AT THE 25TH PARTY CONGRESS ON SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO IMPROVE STATE-TO-STATE RELATIONS WITH CHINA THAT APPEARS AT THE END OF THE ARTICLE CONTRASTS WITH PRIVATE VIEWS OF SOVIET EXPERTS ON CHINA WHO SEE LITTLE PROSPECTS FOR ANY SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN IMPROVING STATE-TO-STATE RELATIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. THE SOVIET CENTRAL PRESS HAS PUBLISHED THREE MAJOR ANTI-PRC SALVOS OVER THE PAST TWELVE DAYS: A PRAVDA AUGUST 27 ARTICLE ON THE CCP'S ELEVENTH PARTY CONGRESS; AN AUTHORITATIVE UNSIGNED ANTI-CHINESE BLAST IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S THEORETICAL JOURNAL KOMMUNIST, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 13173 01 OF 03 091956Z

"CHINA AFTER MAO TSE-TUNG"; AND PART ONE OF AN ARTICLE BY CHINESE SPECIALIST G. APALIN ENTITLED "ON THE ROAD TO MILITARISM" PRINTED IN THE SEPT. 7 EDITION OF LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. THESE ARTICLES CONSTITUTE THE FIRST SIGNIFICANT REPLAYS OF THE ANTI-PRC POLEMICS SINCE THE PRAVDA ARTICLE BY ALEXANDROV IN MAY AND THE BORISOV KOMMUNIST PIECE IN JUNE (REFTEL). THEY COINCIDE WITH THE THIRD PLENUM AND THE ELEVENTH PARTY CONGRESS IN PEKING AND SECRETARY VANCE'S AND PRESIDENT TITO'S VISIT TO CHINA. A SOVIET EXPERT ON CHINA ON THE KOMMUNIST STAFF CLAIMED PRIVATELY THAT THE LATEST KOMMUNIST ATTACK WAS PUBLISHED AS A "RESULT" OF THE THIRD PLENUM. THE SAME OFFICIAL DENIED THAT THE ARTICLE HAD ANYTHING TO DO WITH THE VANCE VISIT ALTHOUGH THE PUBLICATION OF THE TASS SUMMARY IN ENGLISH AS WELL AS RUSSIAN DURING THE SECRETARY'S STAY IN PEKING INDICATE OTHERWISE.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 13173 02 OF 03 092036Z

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-10 ISO-00 BIB-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05

H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-07 MC-02 ERDA-05 /084 W

-----036785 092057Z /73

R 091628Z SEP 77

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1969

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION NATO

USLO PEKING

CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 MOSCOW 13173

2. TAKEN TOGETHER, THE THREE ARTICLES FURTHER  
REINFORCE THE CONCLUSION THAT SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS  
HAVE NOT IMPROVED AS A RESULT OF MAO'S DEPARTURE,  
NOR ARE THEY LIKELY TO. THEY REPEAT THE SAME LITANY  
OF SOVIET CHARGES AGAINST CHINA: MAOISM IS AN IDEOLOGY  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 13173 02 OF 03 092036Z

HOSTILE TO COMMUNISM; PEKING IS ATTEMPTING TO  
SURROUND THE SOVIET UNION WITH ENEMIES AND TO PROVOKE  
A WORLD WAR; THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP IS MILITARIZING

ITS POPULATION AND STRENGTHENING ITS NUCLEAR POTENTIAL IN ORDER TO CONFRONT THE SOVIET UNION AND EVENTUALLY TO DOMINATE THE WORLD. THE CONTENT AND TONE OF THE THREE ARTICLES ARE REFLECTED WITH LITTLE DEVIATION BY OFFICIALS IN MFA AND SOVIET ACADEMICS DEALING WITH CHINESE AFFAIRS. IN AN AUGUST 26 CONVERSATION, MFA CHINA DESK OFFICER DEFINED CHINESE STATEMENTS ON THE SOVIET UNION AT THE RECENT ELEVENTH PARTY CONGRESS AS "PROVOCATIVE".

3. OF THE THREE RECENT ANTI-PRC PUBLICATIONS, THE UNSIGNED KOMMUNIST ARTICLE IS CLEARLY THE MOST AUTHORITATIVE AND SIGNIFICANT. FOLLOWING ARE THE MOST NOTEWORTHY ASPECTS OF THE ARTICLE:

(A) THE KOMMUNIST ARTICLE REFLECTS A SOVIET INTEREST TO REITERATE YET AGAIN THE STRONG SOVIET SENSITIVITIES OVER POSSIBLE ATTEMPTS TO USE ARMS SALES AND TECHNOLOGY TRANSFERS TO CHINA AS LEVERAGE AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION. THE ARTICLE SPECIFICALLY:

--CHARGES THAT "RECENTLY CHINESE LEADERS HAVE BEEN PERSISTENTLY PRESSING FOR MILITARY AID FROM THE WEST IN THE FORM OF DELIVERIES OF MODERN EQUIPMENT AND MILITARY TECHNOLOGY, AND ALSO FOR COOPERATION IN DEVELOPING MILITARY BRANCHES OF INDUSTRY";

--HOLDS THAT CHINESE CONVERSATIONS IN PEKING WITH WESTERN (SCHLESINGER, THATCHER AND STRAUS ARE NAMED) AND JAPANESE VISITORS, AND ALSO "CONVERSATIONS OF PEKING DIPLOMATS IN WESTERN EUROPE", ARE AIMED AT ACQUIRING MILITARY AID TO OPPOSE "THE MILITARY THREAT FROM THE USSR".

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 13173 02 OF 03 092036Z

(B) A SIGNIFICANT PROPORTION OF THE ARTICLE APPEARS TO REFLECT SOVIET CONCERNS OVER CHINESE ATTEMPTS TO MAKE INROADS INTO EASTERN EUROPE AND MAY BE MOST SPECIFICALLY AIMED AT PRESIDENT TITO'S VISIT TO CHINA. THE ARTICLE ACCUSES CHINA OF WORKING "TO UNDERMINE SOCIALIST SOLIDARITY"; CRITICIZES CHINESE ATTACKS ON "ORGANS OF COOPERATION OF SOCIALIST STATES SUCH AS CEMA AND THE WARSAW PACT"; WARNS THAT "ANY COMPROMIST" WITH THE IDEOLOGY AND POLICY OF MAOISM "CAN TURN INTO A FORM OF OPPORTUNISM"; AND CHARGES THAT "SOWING ANIMOSITY AND ALIENATION AMONG THE PEOPLE OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES IS THE MAIN STRATEGY IN THE SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITY OF THE MAOISTS".

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 13173 03 OF 03 092042Z

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-10 ISO-00 BIB-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05

H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-07 MC-02 ERDA-05 /084 W

-----036774 092058Z /73

R 091628Z SEP 77

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1970

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION NATO

USLO PEKING

CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 MOSCOW 13173

(C) THE SCOPE OF THE KOMMUNIST ARTICLE IS CONSIDERABLY  
WIDER AND THE TONE MARKEDLY SHARPER THAN ANY ANTI-PRC  
SOVIET COMMENTARY SINCE THE DEATH OF MAO. UNLIKE THE  
ALEXANDROV AND BORISOV PIECES, THE 7,000 WORD ARTICLE  
DEVOTES CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION TO A CRITICAL EXAMINA-  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 13173 03 OF 03 092042Z

TION OF THE FAILURES OF "MAOIST" INTERNAL POLICIES,  
WHILE OTHER SECTIONS COVER CHINESE EXTERNAL POLICIES  
AND MAOISM AS "AN IDEOLOGY HOSTILE TO MARXISM-LENINISM".

A CHINESE DIPLOMAT HERE TOLD EMBOFF THAT THE COMPREHENSIVENESS AND SHARP TONE OF THE ARTICLE WAS PART OF RECENT ANTI-CHINESE PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN, BUT THAT SIGNIFICANCE OF KOMMUNIST AS SOURCE WAS THE CC CPSU IMPRIMATUR WHICH MEANS THAT PROPAGANDISTS ALL OVER THE USSR WILL DRAW ON THE VOLUMINOUS MATERIAL IN THE ARTICLE AND REPEAT IT IN CONTENT AND TONE. HE ALSO THOUGHT THAT THE SOVIETS WILL CLOSELY MONITOR THE EXTENT TO WHICH EASTERN EUROPEAN PROPAGANDA ORGANS PICK UP THE AUTHORITATIVE KOMMUNIST COMMENTS. (D) THE ARTICLE'S EMPHASIS ON CHINESE NUCLEAR POTENTIAL, ALTHOUGH AN OLD THEME, IS NONETHELESS NOTEWORTHY. IT CLAIMS THAT: "CHINESE MILITARY POTENTIAL IS GROWING RAPIDLY. MAIN ATTENTION IS FOCUSED ON IMPROVING NUCLEAR ROCKETS. ALREADY IN THE FIRST MONTHS AFTER MAO'S DEATH THERE WERE THREE NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS. DURING THIS PAST YEAR THERE HAVE BEEN FOUR NUCLEAR EXPERIMENTS. IN 1976 DIRECT MILITARY EXPENDITURES COMPRISED MORE THAN 40 PERCENT OF THE BUDGET, ABOUT HALF OF THEM DEVOTED TO NUCLEAR ROCKETRY." THE KOMMUNIST OFFICIAL QUOTED IN PARA 1 ECHOED THE ARTICLE'S CONCERN ON CHINESE NUCLEAR POTENTIAL BY STATING THAT THE SOVIET UNION SEES PRESENT DAY CHINA AS A "REAL THREAT" TO THEUSSR. HE TERMED THE RECENT CHINESE NUCLEAR EXPLOSION "A VERY SOPHISTICATED ONE", ADDING THAT "IT IS VERY DANGEROUS TO US FOR THE CHINESE TO SAY WE ARE TARGET NUMBER ONE".

4. THE AUTHORIS OF THE KOMMUNIST ARTICLE, AND THE AUGUST 27 PRAVDA ARTICLE AS WELL, FOLLOW THEIR ANTI-CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 13173 03 OF 03 092042Z

PRC DIATRIBES WITH THE TRADITIONAL CONCLUSION RECALLING BREZHNEV'S 25TH CONGRESS STATEMENT OF SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO IMPROVE STATE-TO-STATE RELATIONS WITH CHINA. OUR PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS WITH SOVIET OFFICIALS ON PROSPECTIVE SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS INDICATE THAT THEY ENTERTAIN LITTLE OR NO HOPE OF ANY SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN STATE-TO-STATE RELATIONS PENDING, IN THEIR VIEW, THE CLEAR ASSUMPTION OF POWER BY ONE OF THE CONTENDING POLITICAL FACTIONS IN PEKING. TOON

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PRESS COMMENTS, FOREIGN RELATIONS, COMMUNISTS, MINISTERIAL VISITS, FOREIGN ASSISTANCE  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 09-Sep-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977MOSCOW13173  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** X1  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D770327-0743  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** MOSCOW  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t19770981/aaaacqkr.tel  
**Line Count:** 325  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** b74a9849-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 6  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 77 MOSCOW 9681  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 29-Dec-2004 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 1333310  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** NEW UPSWING IN SOVIET ANTI-CHINESE POLEMICS COINCIDES CONFIDENTIAL CONFIDENTIAL  
**TAGS:** MASS, PARM, SOPN, PROP, CH, UR, YO, JA, US, (VANCE, CYRUS R), (TITO, JOSIP BROZ)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/b74a9849-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009